

Message Text

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ORIGIN AF-10

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O R 242312Z MAY 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SAALAM

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 119938

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GN, US, XA

SUBJECT:DISCUSSIONS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA WITH FOREIGN OFFICE

REF: (A) BONN 8714, (B) STATE 118809

1. NAMIBIA: WE SUGGEST YOU DRAW ON REF (B) FOR BACKGROUND
AND TALKING POINTS ON NAMIBIA.

2. RHODESIA: TALKING POINTS DESCRIBING PRESENT STATE OF
PLAY OF RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS FOLLOW:

-- OUR GOAL REMAINS THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT MAJORITY-
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RULED ZIMBABWE DURING 1978.

-- THE UK CONSULTATIVE GROUP ON RHODESIA, LED BY FCO DEPUTY
UNDER SECRETARY GRAHAM IS CURRENTLY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.
OUR AMBASSADOR IN LUSAKA (STEPHEN LOW) IS WORKING CLOSELY
WITH MR. GRAHAM AND TRAVELLING WITH THE GROUP.

-- INITIAL MEETINGS WITH THREE OF THE NATIONALIST LEADERS (NKOMO, MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE) HAVE BEEN MODERATELY ENCOURAGING. NONE HAVE OBJECTED IN PRINCIPLE TO THE CONCEPT OF FIRST NEGOTIATING THE TERMS OF AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THEN MOVING TO THE DIFFICULT ISSUES RELATING TO THE TRANSITION FROM MINORITY TO MAJORITY RULE.

-- THE GROUP IS MEETING WITH THE OTHER NATIONALIST LEADER, MUGABE, AND WITH IAN SMITH THIS WEEK FOR EXPLORATORY TALKS. WE DO NOT EXPECT EITHER OF THEM TO THROW INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLES IN THE PATH OF CONTINUING CONSULTATIONS.

-- THIS APPROACH IS NOT ASSURED OF SUCCESS, BUT WE BELIEVE IT OFFERS THE BEST POSSIBILITY AT PRESENT FOR PROGRESS TOWARD A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

3. MAPUTO CONFERENCE: FROM THE WESTERN VIEWPOINT, THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE WAS SUCCESSFUL. THE MOOD OF MODERATION WHICH EMERGED REFLECTED THE FACT THAT THE AFRICAN STATES ARE PREPARED TO ENCOURAGE THE WEST TO SEEK REAL CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. ALTHOUGH THEY REMAIN SUSPICIOUS OF ANY WESTERN INITIATIVES AFTER YEARS OF DISAPPOINTMENT AND DISILLUSIONMENT THEY ARE WILLING TO GIVE US TIME TO TRY TO WORK OUT NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS OF THE REGION'S PROBLEMS. THE FACT THAT THE WEST COULD TAKE A COMMON POSITION, THE CONCILIATORY TONE AND METHOD OF HANDLING RESERVATIONS, AND THE STRAIGHTFORWARD EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN GOALS APPARENTLY STRUCK MANY OF THE DELEGATIONS AS BEING UNPRECEDENTED AND A MARK OF OUR NEW APPROACH. AFRICAN CONFIDENTIAL

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EXPECTATIONS ARE NOW HIGH, HOWEVER, AND THEY WILL BE WATCHING CLOSELY HOW WE FOLLOW UP ON NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA.

TALKING POINTS:

-- THE RESULTS OF THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE WERE ENCOURAGING. THE MOOD OF MODERATION AND COOPERATION DEMONSTRATED THAT THE AFRICANS ARE WILLING TO GIVE THE WEST A CHANCE TO FIND NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA.

-- AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, AFRICAN EXPECTATIONS HAVE BEEN HEIGHTENED AND WE MUST FOLLOW THROUGH VIGOROUSLY OR FACE AN ESCALATED COMMITMENT TO VIOLENCE, AND DEMANDS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR FURTHER SANCTIONS.

-- WESTERN COORDINATION AT MAPUTO WAS KEY TO SUCCESS OF CONFERENCE AND CONTINUED COOPERATION WILL BE THE KEY TO SOLVING THE REGION'S PROBLEMS IN A WAY ACCEPTABLE TO THE

WEST.

4. SOUTH AFRICA: DURING HIS MEETING WITH SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE STRESSED THE NECESSITY OF A PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY. HE TOLD VORSTER THAT THE U.S. CONSIDERED IT ESSENTIAL THAT SOUTH AFRICA MAKE MEANINGFUL PROGRESS TOWARD THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND TOWARD FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY ALL SOUTH AFRICANS ON AN EQUAL BASIS. HE SAID THAT FAILURE TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD THESE OBJECTIVES WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD TO A WORSENING OF U.S.-SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS WHICH WE DO NOT DESIRE. VORSTER'S REACTION WAS ONE OF BASIC DISAGREEMENT WITH THE U.S. VIEW. HE TOOK THE POSITION THAT APARTHEID IS NOT DISCRIMINATORY, THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS COMPOSED OF SEVERAL DIFFERENT NATIONS AND THAT THE FULL PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL POLITICAL LIFE DISCUSSED BY THE VICE PRESIDENT IS CONFIDENTIAL

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IRRELEVANT TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION.

TALKING POINTS:

-- VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE MADE IT CLEAR TO VORSTER THAT UNLESS MEANINGFUL PROGRESS WERE MADE TOWARD ENDING DISCRIMINATION AND TOWARD FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, U.S.-SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS WOULD INEVITABLY DETERIORATE.

-- VORSTER'S REACTION WAS THAT APARTHEID IS NOT DISCRIMINATORY AND THAT THE IDEA OF FULL PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL POLITICAL LIFE IS IRRELEVANT TO SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH IS COMPOSED OF SEVERAL DIFFERENT NATIONS.

-- WE DO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT VORSTER GOT THE MESSAGE THAT WE ARE SERIOUS IN OUR INSISTENCE ON CHANGE AND THAT THIS POLICY HAS DEEP ROOTS IN OUR OWN RACIAL EXPERIENCE.

--WE WILL NOW BE ASSESSING THE RESULTS OF THE VORSTER-MONDALE MEETING, REVIEWING IN THAT LIGHT WHAT STEPS TO TAKE NEXT IN OUR RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

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